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- 26 Sarathchandra, op. cit., p.49.
- 27 As 267-87.
- 28 Vism 103-4.
- 29 As 82-106.
- 30 E. W. Adikaram, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, Colombo, Gunasena, 1953, pp. 1-42.
- 31 A. K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1970, pp. 321-5.
- 32 Vism Trsl. p. 131 n.; cf. also p. 515 n.
- 33 Warder op. cit., p. 309.
- 34 The truncated PTS edition (Tikap) omits; see U Nārada, Conditional Relations (CR I), PTS, 1969, pp.406-7 and Patth I (Ce 1954) 260.
- 35 Vibh 89: sabbadhammesu . . . paṭhamasamannāhāro, cf. Moh 128.
- 36 Tikap 324-6; CR I 338-40.
- 37 Dukap 45-6; Patth II (Ce 1954) 668.
- 38 Tikap-a 259-60; CR I 416.
- 39 Vism-mhţ (Ce 1930) 479: Ye hadaya-vatthu viya sampaţicchanâdivīthi-cittāni pi nânujānanti, tesam: 'sampaţicchanāya cakkhu-viññāṇadhātuyā' ti ādinā tattha tattha pāļi āgatā; na hi sakkā pāļiṃ paţisedhetum.
- 40 Sv I 194; Ps I 262; Spk III 191; Vibh-a 355.
- 41 Paţis I 80-1.
- 42 e.g. Tikap 155; CR I 143.
- 43 As 270-1; 276; 285; 287; 360; Tikap 347; Spk III 71; Abhidh-av 50-1.
- 44 Vism 547; cf. Vism 459; As 265.
- 45 Buddhaghosa (Kv-a 219) certainly attributes such views to the Andhakas. We should perhaps think of the mūla-vijāāna which Asanga attributes to the Mahāsānghikas. It is not certain how far Buddhaghosa is correct in seeing Kv chap. X, 1 as referring to bhavanga.

A NEW THERAVADIN LITURGY

The texts so far published by the P.T.S. have all been derived from written sources. We shall here present a text acquired orally, though we have also made use of printed pamphlets. Theravāda Buddhist liturgical texts are few, and those used in Sri Lanka have hitherto been entirely in Pali. The text presented here is partly in Pali, partly in Sinhala. In content there is nothing radically new, but the religious service at which this text is used has a distinctive flavour which ever larger numbers of Sinhalese Buddhists find appealing.

The service has been invented and the text assembled, and in part composed, by a young monk called Panadure Ariyadhamma. The service he calls an Atavisi Buddha Pūjā ('Worship of the Twenty-eight Buddhas'), or simply a Buddha Pūjā, but it has become popularly known as a Bodhi Pūjā, and we shall see that this reflects a misunderstanding. So far most of the public performances of this Buddha pūjā have either been conducted by the Ven. Ariyadhamma himself or have used tape recordings of him, so that it is not yet possible to say whether the service can become popular without his participation as its leader. Not only does he have a most pleasing appearance and personal presence; his voice is extremely mellifluous and he chants in a musical way which contrasts strikingly with the usual clerical drone. When you mention the Ven. Ariyadhamma to people, his voice is usually the first thing they talk of. Those who know him personally, however, are devoted to him for more solid reasons: he radiates calm and kindness, and appears in his conduct to come as close as possible to the Buddhist ideal. He does not collect possessions, and every month when he has been conducting Buddha pūjā and the congregations in homage have presented him with masses of goods (mainly sets of the eight requisites, the conventional offering to a monk on such an occasion) he gives it all away to other monks. He does not even own proprietary rights (ayitivāsikama) in any monastery. He devotes himself to the religious life, both to preaching and to meditation (necessarily concentrating on the two activities in

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alternating periods), but without losing sympathy for other people and interest in their problems. In contrast to most modern monks who are in the public eye, he keeps himself totally apart from secular public affairs: when we asked him whether he took any interest in politics he replied that his lack of involvement in politics was so complete that he did not even want to say he was against politics. He says that he is completely free of lay responsibilities, and now fills a frame he made for himself.

When we interviewed him, in September 1978, he explained that he does not normally give interviews and tries not to receive personal publicity. But he does not object to the publication of a few factual details. He conceived the desire to become a monk when quite young, but at first his parents did not approve of the idea and it took some time to bring them round to it. Before that, he had a job as clerk with the Anuradhapura Preservation Board, which looks after the ancient capital. He studied Buddhism both at school and at Buddhist Sunday school, and began to learn Pali. He also took up meditation while still a layman; he studied it at the famous meditation centre at Kaňduboda.

The greatest day of his life arrived on 22 December 1966, when he finally entered the Order in the presence of all his relations and 39 monks at a meditation centre in a Colombo suburb, Rājagiri Kaļupaluvāvē Gotama Tapovana. He was ordained into the Amarapura Nikāya by the Ven. Kuḍāvälle Vaṅgīsa Nāyaka Thero. The happiness he felt on that occasion was past all description. His higher ordination took place at Kaňduboḍa, its incumbent, the Ven. Kahaṭapiṭiyē Sumatipāla acting as upādhyāya at the ceremony and the Ven. Kuḍāvällē Vaṅgīsa as ācārya. After that he went and stayed, practising meditation in a cave by himself, at a forest hermitage, Kaļudiyapokuṇa Āraññasthāna, at Mihintale near Anuradhapura. He still goes there for periods of meditation. But in so far as he has any permanent base it is in a village monastery at Jaltara, near Hanvälla in the Low Country of south-western Ceylon.

He first evolved his distinctive form of $Buddha \ p\bar{u}j\bar{a}^1$ around 1972, and celebrated it quietly with a few people in Jaltara. But its fame quickly spread. He conducts isolated services, like the one in honour of a monk's birthday which we have here recorded; but what are famous are the series of services held

daily for a fortnight or a month at about 6 p.m. This time coincides with the traditional hour for the evening offering (gilampasa pūjā) to the Buddha, but it is presumably chosen because it is convenient for people who have to go to work. The Ven. Arivadhamma conducted such series of Buddha pūjā successively at Divulapitiva, in Kandy, Negombo, Chilaw, Nuwara Eliva, Matale and Galle. From Kandy on, these are all fair-sized towns, and the services were held not at monasteries (vihāra) but at Buddhist 'centres', such as the Y.M.B.A., or even at normally secular premises. This was necessary to accommodate the increasing crowds which assembled, despite the Ven. Arivadhamma's avoidance of newspaper publicity. (He does not allow his sermons to be advertised in advance in the daily papers, as are others likely to be of wide interest.) At Matale in 1977 the crowds reached fifty or sixty thousand; at Galle in 19782 the monthlong series drew crowds which the police finally estimated at a hundred thousand.

It is time now to characterize the service, and in so doing to justify the use of the word 'service' and to explain its popularity. Traditional Theravada Buddhism has certain set ritual forms for the clergy, kammavācā, such as the higher ordination ceremony (upasampada) and corporate fortnightly confession (patimokkha), but nothing remotely analogous for the laity. An ordinary Buddha $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ is an offering to the Buddha made by an individual. At every temple the incumbent is responsible for seeing to it that it is made thrice daily. The individual making the offering usually recites (murmurs) certain Pali verses. If others are present, they are supposed to participate in spirit; they empathize, and thus gain merit. But their empathy takes no liturgical form. When monks and laity come together for religious purposes, their roles are complementary. Thus, when people come to the temple to hear a sermon (bana), the monk preaches and the laity listen, participating only by occasional exclamations of 'Sādhu!' (which is often shortened to 'Sa!'). The monk administers the five precepts to the laity by having the laity repeat them after him: he faces the laity, is seated on a higher level, and is treated with the greatest formal respect.

Against this background, the new Buddha pūjā has four striking features. First and foremost, there is constant active

participation by the congregation, for they chant or recite the entire liturgy themselves, in unison, either with the monk conducting the service or after him. In the former case, of course, the monk temporarily appears but as a member of the congregation, and this is the second striking feature: the monk conducting the service sits as a member of the congregation, like them facing the Buddha image³ in an attitude of humility. Before the Buddha he thus appears merely as primus inter pares. A fortiori the same position is adopted by any other monks present, so that they simply participate as members of the congregation, whereas if any other monks besides the preacher attend a traditional baṇa they sit on the higher level facing the laity and do nothing at all.

The third feature of this Buddha pūjā is that not all of it is in Pali; it includes Sinhala. And the final feature to which we draw attention is the heightened dramatic content and emotional tone. Few preachers ever make the slightest effort to involve their audiences emotionally (unless it be to instil in them fear of the consequences of wrong-doing), and indeed one could well argue that since Buddhism stresses the danger of the emotions and the necessity for their careful control, it is absolutely appropriate for Buddhist events to take place in an atmosphere of calm, even flatness. But the Ven. Ariyadhamma is not at all afraid of emotion. He told us that when Mahā Pajāpatī, the Buddha's stepmother, became a nun, she said to him: 'You are now my Buddha mother (Budu ammā) and give me the milk of immortality (amā kiri)';4 the story makes him weep with emotion. The words which are constantly on his lips, as well as featuring prominently in his service, are such words as kindness (maitrī), compassion (karunā). pity (davā), and above all comfort, consolation (sanasuma, sänasilla). He also frequently mentions evenness of temperament (samānātmatāva),5 both as a quality of the Buddha and as a condition for others to aspire to. But it is perhaps his peculiar genius to realize that between the layman walking in off the street and this ideal state of calm there lies a gap which requires some emotional bridge. Not innovating, but bringing into unusual prominence an element from the tradition, the Ven. Ariyadhamma stresses maitrī, both the parental love which the Buddha felt for all creatures and which we may legitimately still project onto him, and the love, of the same quality, which we in our turn must cultivate. In recalling these qualities of the Buddha, he said to us, people's thoughts become broader and open out like a flower blossoming. The main message of the sermon we heard was that everyone should meditate daily on the qualities of the Buddha and practise maitrī. The climax of his Buddha pūjā likewise expresses the receiving of consolation and the giving of love. The sermon leads into a pair of Sinhala verses, chanted three times, saying that the one consolation for life's troubles lies in the Buddha and ultimately in nirvana. In the first of the verses the word sänasilla, 'consolation', is anaphorically repeated in each line of the quatrain; the second verse culminates in the word sänasīma, 'consolation' again. Immediately after this the leading monk expresses in the most concise way possible, with four words of Sinhala prose, the essence of Buddhist maitrī: 'May all beings be happy!' The congregation repeats the words. The monk, with superb histrionic insight, repeats them three more times, each time more quietly, and each time the congregation's response is more muted. The murmur of the fourth repetition is followed by profound silence, as everyone attempts to suffuse his own thoughts, and thence the whole world, with loving-kindness. The silence is finally broken, on the monk's cue, with a loud exclamation of 'Sa!', and everyone breaks into a loud. fast repetition in a monotone of the Metta Sutta, the scriptural and thus the traditional liturgical form given to the same sentiments. Reciting the Metta Sutta in a monotone is a return to comparative banality, but after the deep emotion which preceded it the tone sounds triumphant and represents a return to the daily round with new vigour and confidence.6

The first salient feature of the $Buddha\ p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$, the large part played in it by the congregation, is what impels us to call it a 'service', using a term with an originally Christian denotation. When we see the officiating monk facing the altar and merely heading the congregation, rather than addressing them de haut en bas, we are again reminded of the Christian form. The switch from the ancient language to the vernacular can remind us of Protestant Christianity, and indeed of Roman Catholicism since Vatican Two. And if we are set on such comparisons, we could even find analogues in Christianity to the heightened emotional tone. But the Ven. Ariyadhamma assures us, convincingly, that

there has been no direct Christian influence. He has never attended a Christian service and does not know what they are like. But in them, he says, people sing hymns to music (sangīta), whereas he does not consider that in his service there is any music.7 The importance of this point for him presumably resides in the fact that music is forbidden to monks. He told us that in forest hermitages it is common for the monks to chant in unison, and he has merely extended the practice. We may comment that for monks in a hermitage to ignore status differences is quite another matter from giving such equality ritual expression when it comes to interaction between monks and laity; but that is a dimension with which he is not concerned. The use of Sinhala he likewise does not see as at all radical, perhaps with more justification, since Buddhism has no ideological opposition to the use of vernacular languages-quite the contrary. The attempt to bring religion nearer to the people, and especially to respond to demands by an educated urban middle class for more participation in the religion to which they are nominally affiliated has everywhere produced the same result. Finally, scrutiny of the text will show that its sentiments are indeed truly and distinctively Buddhist and that the Ven. Arivadhamma has merely chosen, notably in the Sinhala verses he has composed, to stress that side of the tradition which seems to him (no doubt rightly) to be most accessible to lay religiosity.

The service lasts two to three hours, but the set part (given below) takes up only about an hour. Most of the rest of the time is taken by the sermon proper, which always occurs at the same point in the service and ends by leading into the climax of the service mentioned above. Even during the sermon the monk maintains his untraditional position facing the Buddha image(s) with his back to the laity. The rest of the time is accounted for by other little speeches the monk makes. The main one of these comes after the first section of the service, the taking of the three refuges and eight precepts (though not the usual eight); in it the monk speaks about the occasion for the service and dedicates the merit accruing from it. A similar speech very near the end of the service distributes the merit to all participants and those connected with them, as is customary; it has the function of a kind of valedictory blessing.

It remains to comment on two points. The interest of the first resides in its illustrating an important principle of scientific method: that you cannot find what you are not looking for. This Buddha pūjā, as its full title indicates, is strictly for all the 28 Buddhas recognized in the Pali tradition. This multiplicity has no importance for the text or message of the service, and the Ven. Ariyadhamma himself said that philosophically all the Buddhas were the same. When one of these Buddha pūjā is held, 28 pictures of the Buddha are put up in a row over a long flower-altar; devotees queue up to offer flowers on this altar just before the service starts; and even so long an altar can barely hold all the offerings. Thus the multiplication is useful in the ritual. But this was not its origin. We were told by lay supporters that making offerings to the 28 Buddhas was an old custom. In our research in the Up Country we had come across offerings only to the 24 Buddhas, never the 28.8 We asked scholarly Sinhalese friends, and they too knew of no such old custom. We then met a monk who was conducting an Atavisi Buddha pūjā on the Ven. Ariyadhamma's instructions. He too asserted that the 28 Buddhas were traditionally worshipped, and to corroborate this he said that every day at midday when food is offered before the Tooth Relic at the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy it is offered in 32 parts, for the 28 Buddhas plus the 4 Buddhas so far born in our eon (who thus figure twice). We had just read H.L. Seneviratne's admirable book. Rituals of the Kandvan State. 9 which gives a minutely detailed account of those very offerings but makes no mention of 28 Buddhas or 32 parts; we were accordingly sceptical. But we were able to go to Kandy and ask the official in charge of the daily offerings, the vattorurala, himself. The monk was right. Every day 32 measures of rice (hāl sēru) are cooked for the morning and midday offerings (udē and daval dānē), and 32 curries prepared. Seneviratne could not see 32 portions because no doubt the figure is purely conceptual and rarely or never empirically observable. In our ritual too the number is essentially conceptual: despite what has been said above, at the first Buddha pūjā we attended there was restricted space for the flower altar and we counted only 12 Buddha images; at the second there were 29-28 pictures (identical prints) plus the main image (a statue).

The second point concerns the widespread misunderstanding

which somewhat irks the Ven. Ariyadhamma. Some of his Sinhala verses express the traditional worship of the Bo or Bodhi tree which stands in the compound of nearly every Buddhist temple. often adorned with little pennants. The tree, being of the kind under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment, symbolizes that Enlightenment. The popularity of his verses about it 10 has led some people to infer that he is laying stress on the cult of the tree. Not only have they misnamed his service Bodhi pūjā, i.e. 'worship of the Bo tree'; they have revived such extravagant customs as watering the tree with perfumed milk. For example, a layman whom we met at the house where the Ven. Arivadhamma was passing the rains retreat in 1978 told us that his mother had seen in his sister's horoscope that the sister was about to pass through an unlucky period, so every day for a week she had watered a Bo tree with cow's milk with saffron and sandal in it and given the merit to her daughter, and all had passed off well. Watering the Bo tree was most meritorious in the dry season, when the tree most needed it, he added. Rather more sophisticated, a monk present on the same occasion said that these popular customs were beside the point, but the merit from this service was particularly offered to the deity living in the Bo tree. (Every major tree is thus inhabited by a spirit.) But the Ven. Ariyadhamma assured us that he envisaged no such special regard for the Bo tree deity; his attitude to all the gods is that there must be mutual respect, but he asks no favours of them and merely follows the normal custom of offering merit to all of them without distinction. As for watering the tree, he remarked that our respect is due to the Knowledge, not the Tree.

We have in our possession two somewhat different printed versions of this service, neither of them published commercially. One is a small pamphlet called *Buddha vandanāva saha Budurās kavi mālāva*; it says on the back that it has been produced in accordance with the Ven. Ariyadhamma's instructions by certain tradesmen in Maradāna (Colombo 10) and is distributed free as an act of merit; the printer is Samayavardhana, Colombo 10, but there is no date. As the title implies, the booklet is in two parts: the *Buddha vandanāva* is our *Buddha pūjā* (pp.1-11), and the rest (pp.12-20) contains a series of 54 Sinhala devotional verses, we assume also by the Ven. Ariyadhamma. The second pamphlet, by

the same printer, and likewise distributed free as an act of merit, is entitled Atavisi mahā Buddha pūjā saṃgrahaya and dated 14 January 1978. Its cover (= title page) says that it contains the form of service used by the Ven. Ariyadhamma on the occasion of the birthday of the Ven. Pātēgama Vimalasiri of the Jētavana Piriveṇa (monastic college), Colombo and is produced by those who supported that event. The Buddha pūjā, which inside is called Buddha vandanāva (as in the other pamphlet) is on pp.1-11; the only other item (p.12) is the Atavisi mahā Buddha pirita, eight Pali verses, seven just listing the 28 Buddhas and the eighth asking for their protection:

Tesam saccena sīlena khanti-metta-balena ca te pi mam anurakkhantu ārogyena sukhena cā ti.¹¹

It is this latter pamphlet which contains the form of service closer to the one we heard, though there were some deviations from its text too. We attended two of these $Buddha\ p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$. The first, on 16 September 1978, was conducted at a house in southern Sri Lanka by another monk who was deputizing for the Ven. Ariyadhamma that day; we took notes against the printed version, but had no tape recorder. There were extra prayers for the Ven. Ariyadhamma, and at the end the merit of the service was transferred to him.

The version given here comes from our tape recording of a service conducted by the Ven. Ariyadhamma on 23 September 1978 at the International Buddhist Centre, Wellawatte, Colombo 6, on the occasion of the 79th birthday of the incumbent, who was unfortunately not well enough to attend.

Abbreviations

M - monk, i.e. spoken by the monk (here Ariyadhamma) only

C - congregation, i.e. spoken by the congregation only

U - unison, i.e. spoken by monk and congregation together

R - responses, i.e. spoken first by the monk, then repeated by the congregation

S - Sinhala

P - Pali

n - normal tone, i.e. with the cadence of normal speech

- chanted in a melody pattern

m - monotonous chant 12

MSn

Sādhu kiyanta.

C Sā.

Namaskāraya kiyanţa. MSn

(x3) CPc Namo tassa Bhagavato arahato sammā-Sambuddhassa.

MSn

Nāvakasvāmīndravanvahansēpradhāna sanghayā-

vahansēgē samāva avasara läbēvā.

RPc

(but Cm) Buddham saranam gacchāmi

Dhammam saranam gacchāmi Sangham saranam gacchāmi

Dutivam pi Buddham saranam gacchāmi Dutiyam pi Dhammam saranam gacchāmi Dutivam pi Sangham saranam gacchāmi Tativam pi Buddham saranam gacchāmi Tatiyam pi Dhammam saranam gacchāmi Tatiyam pi Sangham saranam gacchāmi.

MPc

Tisaranagamanam sampūrnam.

CPc

Āma bhante.

RPc

Pāņātipātā veramaņī sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi.

Adinnādānā veramaņī sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi.

Kāmesu micchācārā veramanī sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi.

Musāvādā veramanī sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi. Pisuņāvācā veramaņī sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi. Pharusāvācā veramaņī sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi. Samphappalāpā veramaņī sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi. Micchā ājīvā veramanī sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi.

RSc

Mē tisarana-sahitavū

āiīva-atthamaka-sīlava

mārga-phala-nivan piņisa ma

hētu vēvā.

MPc

Tisaranena saddhim ājīva-atthamaka-sīlam sammā

sādhukam surakkhitam katvā appamādena sampādetha,

Pause.

M gives 6½-minute address on the occasion; he praises the incumbent and especially dedicates the merit of this service to him and to another monk of the same temple who has recently died.

Sampūritāpamita-pāramitā-balena UPc

Viddhamsi vo khila kilesa-samūla-jālam Ten' eva laddha-araham araho ti nāmam

Vandāmi Buddham amalam hadaye thapetvā.

(x3) UPm Namo tassa Bhagavato arahato sammā-Sambuddhassa.

Iti pi so Bhagavā araham sammā-Sambuddho vijjā-UPm carana-sampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadamma-sārathi satthā deva-manussānam Buddho Bhagavā ti.

> Buddham iīvitam vāva nibbānam saranam gacchāmi. Svākkhāto Bhagavatā Dhammo samditthiko akāliko ehipassiko opanāviko paccattam veditabbo viññūhī ti.

Dhammam jīvitam yāva nibbānam saraņam gacchāmi. Supațipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-Sangho, ujupațipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-Sangho, ñāyapaţipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-Sangho, sāmīcipaţipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-Sangho, yadidam cattāri purisa-yugāni attha purisapuggalā, esa Bhagavato sāvaka-Sangho, āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhineyyo añjali-karaniyo anuttaram puñña-kkhettam lokassā ti.

Sangham jīvitam yāva nibbānam saranam gacchāmi.

Dukkhe ñāṇam Buddha-ñāṇam.

Dukkha-samudaye ñānam Buddha-ñānam.

Dukkha-nirodhe ñānam Buddha-ñānam.

Dukkha-nirodha-gāminī-patipadāya ñānam Buddhañānam.

Attha-patisambhide ñāṇam Buddha-ñāṇam.

Dhamma-patisambhide ñāṇam Buddha-ñāṇam.

Nirutti-patisambhide ñānam Buddha-ñānam.

Patibhāna-patisambhide ñānam Buddha-ñānam.

Indriya-paropariyatte ñāṇam Buddha-ñāṇam.

Āsayānusaye ñāṇam Buddha-ñāṇam.

Yamaka-pāţihāriye ñāṇam Buddha-ñāṇam.

Mahā-karunā-samāpattiyā ñāṇam Buddha-ñāṇam.

Sabbaññuta¹³-ñāṇam Buddha-ñāṇam.

Anāvarana-ñānam Buddha-ñānan ti.

Imehi Buddha-ñānehi samannāgatam sammā-

Sambuddham tam sirasā namāmi.

So Bhagavā iti pi araham Araham vata so Bhagavā Arahantam saranam gacchāmi Arahantam sirasā namāmi.

So Bhagavā iti pi sammā-Sambuddho Sammā-Sambuddho iti pi so Bhagavā

Sammā-Sambuddham tam saranam gacchāmi Sammā-Sambuddham tam sirasā namāmi.

So Bhagavā iti pi vijjā-caraņa-sampanno

Vijjā-caraņa-sampanno vata so Bhagavā

Vijjā-caraņa-sampannam tam saraņam gacchāmi Vijjā-caraņa-sampannam tam sirasā namāmi.

So Bhagavā iti pi sugato Sugato vata so Bhagavā

Sugatam tam saranam gacchāmi Sugatam tam sirasā namāmi.

So Bhagavā iti pi lokavidū Lokavidū vata so Bhagavā Lokavidum tam saranam gacchāmi Lokavidum tam sirasā namāmi.

So Bhagavā iti pi anuttara purisa-damma-sārathi Anuttara purisa-damma-sārathi vata so Bhagavā Anuttara purisa-damma-sārathim tam saranam gacchāmi

Anuttara purisa-damma-sārathim tam sirasā namāmi.

So Bhagavā iti pi satthā deva-manussānaṃ Satthā deva-manussānaṃ vata so Bhagavā

Satthā deva-manussānam tam saraņam gacchāmi Satthā deva-manussānam tam sirasā namāmi.

So Bhagavā iti pi Buddho Buddho vata so Bhagavā Buddham tam saranam gacchāmi Buddham tam sirasā namāmi.

So Bhagavā iti pi Bhagavā Bhagavā vata so Bhagavā Bhagavantam¹⁴ saranam gacchāmi Bhagavantam¹⁴ sirasā namāmi.

RSc Māgē svāmīvū

Budurajāņanvahansē

Kelesun keren duruvū sēka.

Rahasinvat pav no kaļa sēka.

Siyalu pāpayangen miduna sēka.

Siyalu lõ väsiyangē

āmisa pūjā

pratipatti pūjā siyallatama sudusu vana sēka. Budurajāņanvahansēgē karuna gunaya mahā āścaryyaya. Kötivak mavvarungē kōtiyak piyavarungē karunā guņaya eka pidak kala da Budurajānanvahansēgē karunā gunaya upamā kala nohāka. Mesē anantavū apramāna guņa ättāvū asamavū asamasamavū deviyanta devivū matama svāmīvū magēma Budumāniyanvū magēma Budupiyāņanvū mohaňduraţa lahiru maňdalakvū keles ginnaţa mahā mēghayakvū gamanin sāntavū pävätmen samvaravū anātha nāthavū asarana saranavū Budurajāņanvahansēţa Tanhamkara namvū Budurajāņanvahansē paţan Gautama namvū Budurajāņanvahansē dakvā mesē aţavisi Budurajāņanvahansēlāţa mē pahan pūjā karami pūjā vēvā. Mē suvaňda dum pūjā karami pūjā vēvā. Mē suvanda mal pūjā karami pūjā vēvā. Mē lada pas mal pūjā karami -

A new Theravādin liturgy

pūjā vēvā. mē sisil pan pūjā karami -pūjā vēvā. Me gilan pasa pūjā karami pūjā vēvā. Me catumadhura pūjā karami pūjā vēvā. Mē dähät pūjā karami pūjā vēvā. Mē behet pūjā karami pūjā vēvā. Mē sivalu pūjāvō nirvāņa sāntiva patā samsāra dukin ata midīma patā aţavisi Budurajāņanvahansēlāţa pūjā karami.

(x3)Pūjā vetvā.

UPc

Namāmi sugatam Buddham lokajettham narāsabham Namāmi sugatam Dhammam nivvānikam sudesitam Namāmi sugatam Sangham punnakkhettam anuttaram

Namāmi sugatam Bodhim asvattham lokapūjitam. Vītataņham vītadosam vītamoham anāsavam Vande nipuna-Sambuddham ananta-naya-desitam. Vandāmi cetiyam sabbam sabbathānesu patitthitam Sārīrika dhātu mahā-Bodhim Buddha-rūpam sakalam sadā.

Yassa müle nisinno va sabbāri-vijayam akā Patto sabbaññutam satthā vande tam Bodhi-pādapam. Ime ete mahā-Bodhī lokanāthena pūjitā Aham pi te namassāmi — Bodhi-rājā, nam' atthu te.

MSn Anurādhapurē śrī-mahā-Bodhi-rajānanvahansēgē gauravayen:

Ranvan pāţin dalu lana Bōdhiya Nilvan pāţin kola lana Bōdhiya Gautama munindun pita dun Bodhiya Apit vaňdimu jaya siri maha Bōdhiya.

Dambadiv talayê hatagat Bôdhiya Siri Lankāvata vädamev Bodhiva

Gautama munindun pita dun Bōdhiya Apit vandimu jaya siri maha Bodhiya.

Dambadiv talaye hatagat Bodhiya Sangamit teranin gena vädi Bodhiva Gautama munindun piţa dun Bōdhiya Apit vaňdimu java siri maha Bōdhiya.

Dambadiv talayē hatagat Bodhiya Maha Mevnāvē ropita Bodhiya Gautama munindun piţa dun Bōdhiya Apit vaňdimu jaya siri maha Bōdhiya.

Dambadiv talayē hatagat Bodhiya Maha Mevnāvē ropita Bodhiva Ran väta atarē penenā Bodhiya Apit vaňdimu jaya siri maha Bōdhiya.

Dambadiy talayê hatagat Bodhiya Maha Mevnāvē ropita Bodhiva Denō dahak dena vaňdinā Bōdhiya Apit vaňdimu jayasiri maha Bodhiya.

Mama mē maluvaţa yanavā enavā Bōmul Bōpat mata pagenavā Samāva dī mage pav aravanavā Bō rajunē mata avasara denavā.

Uda maļuvē Bo raju väjambenavā Deveni maļuve mal pahan dilenavā Väli maļuvē maha senaga vandinavā Matu mattē api nivan dakinavā.

UPc Ghana-sāra-ppadittena dīpena tamadhamsinā Tiloka-dīpam Sambuddham pūjavāmi tamonudam.

> Sugandhi-kāya-vadanam ananta-guna-gandhinam Sugandhināham gandhena pūjayāmi Tathāgatam.

Vanna-gandha-gunopetam etam kusuma-samtatim Pūjayāmi munindassa sirīpāda-saroruhe.

Adhivāsetu no bhante pānīyam parikappitam Anukampam upādāya patiganhātu-m-uttamam.

USc

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Adhivāsetu no bhante gilānapaccayam imam Anukampam upādāya patiganhātu-m-uttamam.

Adhivāsetu no bhante bhesajjam parikappitam Anukampam upādāya patiganhātu-m-uttamam.

Adhivāsetu no bhante tāmbūlam parikappitam Anukampam upādāya patiganhātu-m-uttamam.

Kāyena vācā cittena pamādena mayā katam Accayam khama me bhante bhūripañña Tathāgata.

Kāyena vācā cittena pamādena mayā katam Accayam khama me Dhamma samdiţthika akālika.

Kāyena vācā cittena pamādena mayā katam Accayam khama me Sangha supatipanna anuttara.

RSc

Ananta sasara patan mē mohota dakvā māgē sita kaya vacana yana tun dorin sidu vunāvū siyalu dōşayanaṭa Buddha ratnayenda Dhamma ratnayenda Saṅgha ratnayenda maṭa samāva läbēvā. Devanuvada maṭa samāva läbēvā. Tevanuvada

RPc

maţa samāva läbēvā. Idam me puññam

āsavakkhayāvaham hotu.

RSc

Mā visin räs kaļāvū sīlamaya vandanāmaya Buddhapūjāmaya Bōdhi-vandanāmaya sūvisiguņa-manasikāramaya siyalu puņya-dharmayō māgē demāpiyantada

māgē guruvaravintada māgē vadihitiyantada siyaludenātada aviti vetvā. Mamada sivallangenma siyalu punya-dharmayan sädara gauravayen ādara bhaktiven anumodan vemi. Matada mē siyalu pin balayen jarā-maranādī samsāra-dukin atamidī nirvāna suvayama avabodha vēvā. Nivan dakimyā.

MSn

Sādhu kiyanţa.

C Sā.

Here follows the sermon. It begins with a unison chanting of the three refuges, first in Pali (but not the standard chant) and then in a close Sinhala paraphrase; however, this does not form a set part of the service, so we omit it. The sermon concludes with a close Sinhala prose paraphrase of the following two verses, and their recitation follows without any break.

RSc

Neta sänasilla Budu himi ruva däkimaya Gata sänasilla Budu himi haṭa väňdimaya Sita sänasilla Budu himi guṇa sitimaya Bava sänasilla himi gat maga gänīmaya.

Karadaramayi jīvitayaka hämadāma Maranayaţayi tika tika vat lamvīma Pina pamanayi taramakavat sähīma Nivana tamayi api kāṭat sänasīma.

The above two verses are twice repeated; the third recital is in unison.

(x4) RSc (Siyalu satvayō (suvapat vetvā.

At each repetition the monk's voice is lower both in pitch and in volume. There follows a complete silence, on this occasion lasting about 70 seconds.

MSn

Sādhu kiyanţa.

C Sā.

UPm

Karaniyam atthakusalena . . . They recite the whole of the Metta Sutta (Sutta Nipāta I. 8); the following verses follow without a break.

UPm¹⁵ Etena saccavajjena sotthi te hotu sabbadā Etena saccavajjena loko hotu sukhī sadā Etena saccavajjena ciram titthatu sāsanam. Bhavatu sabba-mangalam rakkhantu sabba-devatā Sabba-Dhammānubhāvena sadā sotthī bhavantu te. Bhavatu sabba-mangalam rakkhantu sabba-devatā Sabba-Dhammānubbhāvena sadā sotthī bhavantu te. Bhavatu sabba-mangalam rakkhantu sabba-devatā Sabba-Dhammanubhavena sada sotthi bhavantu te Nakkhatta-yakkha-bhūtānam pāpaggaha-nivāranā Parittassānubhāvena hantu te samupaddave.

> Dukkhappattā ca niddukkhā bhayappattā ca nibbhayā Sokappattā ca nissokā hontu sabbe pi pānino. Dānam dadantu saddhāya sīlam rakkhantu sabbadā Bhāvanābhiratā hontu gacchantu devatā gatā. Sabbe Buddhā balappattā Paccekānam ca yam balam Arahantānam ca tejena rakkham bandhāmi sabbaso. Ākāsaţţhā ca bhummaţţhā devā nāgā mahiddhikā Puññam tam anumoditvā ciram rakkhantu sāsanam. Ākāsaţţhā ca bhummaţţhā devā nāgā mahiddhikā Puññam tam anumoditvā ciram rakkhantu desanam. Ākāsatthā ca bhummatthā devā nāgā mahiddhikā Puññam tam anumoditvā ciram rakkhantu mam paran ti.

M distributes the merit accruing from the occasion to all participants and their relatives and wishes that all may attain nirvana; all assent with a loud 'Sā.'

MPc16 Abhivādana-sīlissa niccam vaddhāpacāyino Cattāro dhammā vaddhanti: āyu vanno sukham balam. Āyu-r-ārogya-sampatti sagga-sampatti-m-eva ca Atho nibbāna-sampatti iminā te samijihatu. Sā!

Summary translation

MSn Sav 'Sādhu'. All do so.

MSn Say 'Namo . . .'

Homage¹⁷ to the Blessed worthy, the fully enlightened Buddha.

Twice repeated.

May the venerable incumbent and the other venerable members of the great Order accord their gracious permission.

I take refuge in the Buddha/ the Doctrine/ the Order RPc (three times each).

The taking of the three refuges is completed. MPc

Yes, venerable sir. CPc

I undertake the rule to abstain from taking life/ from RPc taking what is not given/from sexual misconduct/from lying/ from malicious speech/ from harsh speech/ from idle chatter/ from wrong livelihood.

May these eight moral principles, ending with that of RSc livelihood, with the triple refuge, cause us to enter the paths, attain the results, and see nirvana.

Keep the eight moral principles, ending with that of livelihood, with the triple refuge, fully and well, and with full attention achieve it.18

UPc He broke through the tangle of defilements and their roots by the power of the unlimited perfections He attained, and by that He acquired worthiness and is called 'Worthy' (araho); placing Him in my heart I worship the immaculate Buddha.19

Homage to the Blessed worthy, the fully enlightened Buddha.

Twice repeated.

Thus is the Blessed worthy, the fully enlightened Buddha, perfect in wisdom and conduct, well, knower of the world, supreme²⁰ charioteer of men, who have to be broken in, teacher of gods and men, Buddha, Blessed. I take refuge in the Buddha for life, till I attain nirvana.

Well stated by the Blessed one is the Doctrine, plainly apparent, timeless, a thing to come and see, conducive, possible for the intelligent to realize themselves. I take refuge in the Doctrine for life, till I attain nirvana. Of good conduct is the Blessed one's Order of disciples, of upright conduct, of proper conduct, of straight conduct; the four pairs of men, the eight individuals. they are the Blessed one's Order of disciples; fit to be called upon, to be invited, to be given gifts, to be worshipped in gesture, the supreme field of merit for the world.

I take refuge in the Order for life, till I attain nirvana.

The Buddha's knowledge is knowledge of ill/ of the arising of ill/ of the annihilation of ill/ of the path leading to the annihilation of ill/ of penetration of the truth/ of penetration of the Doctrine/ of penetration of etymologies/ of penetration of realization/ of the level of others' spiritual attainments/ of latent tendencies/ of the miracle of the pairs/ of the attainment of great compassion/of omniscience/ without impediment. I bow my head to the fully enlightened Buddha who has these Buddha-knowledges.

That Blessed one is thus worthy; worthy indeed is that Blessed one. I take refuge with the worthy one: I bow my head to the worthy one.

This formula is repeated for each of the Buddha's qualities: for 'worthy' substitute in turn the fully enlightened Buddha; perfect in wisdom and conduct: well; knower of the world; supreme charjoteer of men. who have to be broken in; teacher of gods and men: Buddha; Blessed.

RSc My lord, the reverend king Buddha, was remote from defilements. He did no sin even in secret. He was free from all sins. He was worthy of all offerings, both objects and acts, made by all the world's inhabitants. The great wonder is the quality of the reverend king Buddha's compassion. Though one mass together the compassion

of a million mothers and a million fathers, one can make no comparison with the compassion of the reverend king Buddha. Thus infinite, possessing measureless qualities, unequalled, equal to the unequalled, god to the gods, to me the lord, my own Buddha mother, my own Buddha father, the orb of dawn to the darkness of delusion, a great raincloud to the fire of the defilements, peaceful in His movements, restrained in His conduct, protector to the unprotected, refuge to those without refuge, to the reverend king Buddha, from the reverend king Buddha called Tanhamkara to the reverend king Buddha called Gautama, thus to the twenty-eight reverend king Buddhas I make this offering of lamps-may it be offered. I make this offering of fragrant smoke/ of fragrant flowers/ of five items ending with puffed rice²¹ / of cool water/ of evening refreshment/ of four sweets/ of betel leaves/ of medicine—may it be offered. Aspiring to the peace of nirvana and liberation from the ill of worldly existence I make all these offerings to the twenty-eight reverend king Buddhas. (Three times:) May they be offered. I bow to the good Buddha, senior in the world, bull

UPc among men.

> I bow to the good Doctrine, leading out of the world, well taught.

I bow to the good Order, supreme field of merit. I bow to the good Enlightenment tree.²² fig tree worshipped by the world.

Free of craving, free of hatred, free of delusion, without defilement, I worship the clever Enlightened one, who taught²³ in many a way.

I worship every stupa, wherever it may be established, the corporeal relics, the great Bo tree, every image of the Buddha always.

Seated at whose foot the Teacher defeated all His foes and attained omniscience, that Bo tree I worship.

Here are these great Bo trees, worshipped by the world protector; I too will bow to them: king Bo tree, worship be to you!

Out of veneration for the glorious great reverend king Bo tree at Anuradhapura:

USc The Bo tree bearing golden leaf buds.

The Bo tree bearing dark leaves,

The Bo tree which supported the back of Gautama, lord of seers,

Let us too worship the glorious great Bo tree.

The Bo tree which sprang up on India's soil,

The Bo tree sent to blessed Ceylon,

The Bo tree which supported the back of Gautama, lord of seers,

Let us too worship the glorious great Bo tree.

The Bo tree which sprang up on India's soil,

The Bo tree the Elder Sanghamitta brought with her,

The Bo tree which supported . . .

Let us too . . .

The Bo tree which sprang up on India's soil,

The Bo tree planted in the great Meghavana park.

The Bo tree which supported . . .

Let us too . . .

The Bo tree which sprang . . .

The Bo tree planted . . .

The Bo tree visible within the golden fence,

Let us too . . .

The Bo tree which sprang . . .

The Bo tree planted . . .

The Bo tree worshipped by thousands of people,

Let us too . . .

I pass to and fro on this enclosure,

I tread on the roots and leaves of the Bo tree;

Forgiving me, it does away with my sin:

The king Bo tree grants me permission.

The king Bo tree lives on the top level;

On the second level gleam flowers and lamps;

On the level of the sand worships a great crowd;

In the future we shall see nirvana.

UPc With lamp kindled with camphor, destroying darkness, I

worship the Enlightened one, lamp to the triple world, dispeller of darkness.

With fragrant perfume I worship the one who is Thus, fragrant of body and face, fragrant with infinite virtues. At the blessed lotus feet of the lord of seers I offer this colourful, fragrant heap of flowers.

May the reverend one accept the water we have prepared; out of compassion may He receive the best.

This verse is repeated in turn for evening refreshment/medicine/betel leaves.

Forgive me transgressions committed through carelessness in body, word or thought, O Tathagata of great wisdom.

This verse is repeated, addressing in turn O Doctrine plainly apparent, timeless and O Order of good conduct, supreme.

RSc For all the faults which have occurred through the three doors of my mind, body and speech, from infinitely remote worldly existence until this moment, from the jewel of the Buddha, the jewel of the Doctrine and the jewel of the Order may I receive pardon. For the second time, may I receive pardon. For the third time, may I receive pardon.

RPc May this merit of mine bring about the destruction of my defiling impulses.

RSc May all the elements of merit I have accumulated—keeping the moral principles, worshipping in gesture, making offerings to the Buddha, worshipping the Bo tree, contemplating the virtues of the twenty-four Buddhas—accrue to my parents, my teachers, my elders, to all. And I empathize with all the elements of merit from everyone, with respectful veneration, with respectful devotion. And may there come to me through the power of all this merit release from decay, death and all the sorrows of worldly existence, and realization of the very bliss of nirvana. May I see nirvana.

MSn Say 'Sādhu'.

All do so.

RSc To see the Lord Buddha's image is consolation to the eyes;
To bow before the Lord Buddha is consolation to the limbs;
To think of the Lord Buddha's virtues is consolation to
the mind;

To take the path the Lord took is consolation for becoming.

In life there is truly trouble every day, And to death we approach ever a little closer; Only doing good is at least some palliative; Nirvana it is that is the comfort for us all.

Twice repeated.

RSc May all beings be happy. Thrice repeated.

MSn Say 'Sādhu'.

All do so. Then follows the Metta Sutta.

UPm By this statement of truth may you always fare well; by this statement of truth may the world always be happy; by this statement of truth may the Teaching long endure. May there be every blessing; may all the deities afford protection; by the power of all the Buddhas may you always fare well.

This verse is twice repeated, substituting for 'Buddhas' first 'Doctrine', then 'Order'.

By checking evil influences of constellations, devils and ghosts by the power of protective texts, may they lay low your misfortunes.

May all living creatures who are ill be free from ill, who are fearful be free from fear, who are grieving be free from grief.

May they give gifts with trust, may they always observe the moral principles, may they take delight in developing their minds, at their passing may they become deities. I bind comprehensive protection²⁴ by the power of all the Buddhas, who attained power, of the Isolated Buddhas, and the worthies.

May the gods of sky and earth and the nagas of great power empathize with the merit and long protect the Teaching.

This verse is twice repeated, substituting for 'Teaching' first 'instruction', then 'me and others'. 25

MPc If one habitually makes respectful salutation and always waits on one's elders, four things increase: one's length of life, good looks, happiness and strength.

By this may you successfully achieve long life, health, heaven, and finally nirvana.

C Amen!

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Notes

- 1 For what is normally entailed in a Buddha pūjā see our Precept and Practice (Oxford, 1971), pp.75-9 and 114-27.
- 2 Revisiting Sri Lanka in September 1979, we have heard of further series in Colombo and Ratnapura.
- 3 This means that even when the performance is 'live' (i.e., not a tape recording) electronic equipment is essential: the monk speaks into a microphone. Thus technology influences ritual.
- 4 The Ven. Ariyadhamma thought this was in the commentaries, but we cannot find it there. The nearest we have come to it in Pali is Therī-Apadāna 17 (Gotamī), 31-3 (= Ap 532, 1-6); we translate: 'O Well one, I am your mother, and you, steadfast one, are my father, who give me the bliss of the true Doctrine, my protector; through you, Gotama, am I born. Well one, this physical body of yours have I nourished; my truth body, without sense organs [? dubious reading], you have nourished. For a short while I suckled you with milk to quench your thirst; you have suckled me with the tranquil infinite milk of truth.' I take the last phrase to be tantamount to 'the milk of infinite tranquillity', i.e. the Ven. Ariyadhamma's 'milk of immortality'. See also our article 'Feminine Elements in Sinhalese Buddhism: 1. "Buddha Mother", WZKSO XVI, 1976, pp.67-78.
- 5 The word upekṣā, which with maitrī, karuṇā and muditā (sympathetic joy) makes a set as the four blessed states (brahmavihāra) commended by the Buddha, he seems to use less. We surmise that this is because the word means 'indifference', and though in this context the indifference is supposed to be a sublime one, a state of benign equanimity, the same problem with the word's connotations arises in Sinhala as in English. Moreover, besides denoting a state of mind, samānātmatāva has the more active connotation of impartiality.
- 6 This version of the service's climax seems to have evolved gradually. Both the pamphlets in our possession (see below) reflect an earlier version: in them there are Sinhala verses between the silent meditation and the Karanīya Metta Sutta. The abbreviation of the

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- service at this point has clearly been done, whether with conscious intent or not, to enhance its dramatic impact.
- 7 Though the chanting of the *Buddha pūjā* sounds 'musical' to us, it contrasts with Christian services in employing no instrumental accompaniment, and of course no harmony.
- 8 The 28 Buddhas are *mentioned* in a great many ritual texts; what is at issue is whether they ever receive offerings.
- 9 Cambridge, 1978.
- 10 The verses refer explicitly to the particular Bo tree at Anuradhapura, but this is not important, for just as that tree is held to be a cutting from the original Bo tree, other Bo trees in worship in Sri Lanka are assumed to be connected with the tree at Anuradhapura.
- 11 'By their truth and morality and the force of their kindness and forbearance may they protect me in health and happiness.'
- 12 This last set of distinctions (n, c, m) is only roughly indicative, and refers primarily to the monk. The rhythmical distinction, between normal speech and chanting, is much clearer than the melodic distinction between what we have labelled c and m, where the line we have drawn is necessarily somewhat arbitrary. For example, the first time the monk recites Namo tassa Bhagavato . . . it is according to a well-known style which uses four notes, though mainly resting on one of them, and we have labelled this 'chanting', partly because the congregation too, for the most part, make some attempt to follow the style; but the second time the formula is used the effect is rather different, partly because it directly follows the more florid chanting of a verse, so that though the intention may be the same we have decided to label the style 'monotonous'.
- 13 Sic.
- 14 Sic; but both printed edd. read Bhagavantam tam keeping the pattern.
- 15 The rest of the service is a normal conclusion to a pinkama, especially to a pirit ceremony, to which some of the verses specifically refer. For example, rakkham bandhāmi, 'I bind protection', refers to tying thread on one's wrist as an amulet after the monks have recited the protective texts over it. The text from here on is not in the pamphlets, and one could argue that it is not part of the Buddha-pūjā proper; but some such conclusion to round off the occasion is indispensible.
- 16 These verses are commonly recited by monks to acknowledge any act of homage to them by the laity; all the monks present joined in its recitation, the only point at which there was a general monk/ lay distinction.
- 17 No attempt to select English equivalents can convey the distinctions and overlap between namo, vandanā and pūjā, and their cognates in both Pali and Sinhala. All mean 'worship' and can often best be so translated. Namo, however, refers to physical obeisance (by prostration or at least a deep bow). Vandanā is the most general

- word, but it too tends to imply some physical gesture of respect. $P\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ tends to refer to making an offering; but to call the subject of this article an 'Offering to the Buddha' would quite misplace the emphasis.
- 18 '... with full attention achieve it.' These last two words in the Pali echo the last words of the Buddha. Their meaning is very general, but in context the reference is to achieving nirvana.
- 19 This verse is from the Rasa-vāhinī.
- 20 Here, as everywhere, the translation aims to present the meaning of the Pali as now understood. Originally anuttaro may have qualified lokavidū or been an independent epithet, but we have evidence below that it is now understood to qualify purisa-damma-sārathi.
- 21 The other four items are mustard seed, arrow-grass, broken rice and iasmine buds.
- 22 The conventional 'English' translation for *Bodhi* is 'Bo tree', but it is good to be reminded of the metonymy. We revert to 'Bo tree' below because 'Enlightenment tree' is too cumbrous.
- 23 The context requires the past passive participle to bear an active meaning.
- 24 See note 15.
- 25 This translation of *mam param* we owe to the Ven. L. Siridhamma, who glossed the phrase as *mam ca param ca*. We are grateful to him for his help with the transcription of several *gāthā*.